

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7008

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USUN

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 TEL AVIV 4811

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, IS, US

SUBJECT: BEGIN'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON: SETTLEMENTS POLICY AND
PROSPECTS

SUMMARY:ONE OF THE MORE INTERESTING AND PERHAPS FATE-
FUL QUESTIONS FOR THE LIKUD GOVERNMENT IN THE MONTHS
AHEAD IS HOW IT WILL TRANSLATE INTO POLICY AND PRACTICE
ITS PRINCIPLES REGARDING JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE
OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.THOSE PRINCIPLES INCLUDE THE
ISRAELI NOTION OF ESTABLISHING BORDERS THROUGH THE USE
OF SETTLEMENTS. (ONE EXAMPLE OF SUCH ACTION WAS THE
PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT'S ALLON PLAN.) POST-ELECTION STATE-
MENTS ON SETTLEMENTS BY BEGIN AND OTHERS INDICATE THAT
THE LEADERS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE STRONGER
VIEWS ON SETTLEMENT ISSUES, AND THERE ARE REPORTS THAT
JERICHO IS LIKELY TO BE THE FIRST NEW WEST BANK SETTLE-
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MENT TO BE APPROVED BY THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER,
THE LIKUD MAY NOT HAVE AN ENTIRELY FREE HAND REGARDING
SETTLEMENT POLICY IF THE DMC ENTERS THE GOVERNMENT.
THERE IS AN INTERESTING ANOMALY OF A LIKUD GOVERNMENT
WITHOUT MEANINGFUL GRASS-ROOTS SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATIONS
OF ITS OWN. ALTHOUGH THERE IS A POOL OF GUSHEMUNIM
VOLUNTEERS READY FOR SETTLEMENT, THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL

STILL BE FACED WITH MANPOWER AND MONEY CONSTRAINTS. THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES ON THIS ISSUE WILL BE TROUBLE SOME TO US,BUT ISRAELIS BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. HAS TWO POLICIES ABOUT JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, ONE STATED AND ONE REAL. WE RECOMMEND THAT DURING THE BEGIN VISIT TO WASHINGTON, THIS ILLUSION OF "TWO POLICIES" BE DISPELLED. END SUMMARY.

1. SETTLEMENTS AND BORDERS. THERE IS AN ISRAELI TRUISM, ONE BITTERLY CREDIED BY THE ARABS, THAT "WHERE OUR SETTLEMENTS ARE, THAT IS WHERE BORDERS SHOULD BE."

THUS, WE HAVE OFTEN HEARD THAT ISRAEL'S PRE-1967 LINES, WHICH WERE DRAWN AS A RESULT OF FIGHTING IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, ACTUALLY CORRESPONDED TO THE OUTLINE OF JEWISHSETTLEMENTS IN PALESTINE, I.E., TO THOSE LOCATIONS WHICH THE JEWS FOUND ESSENTIAL TO DEFEND BECAUSE THEY LIVED THERE. BY EXTENSION, THE SAME REASONING HAS BEEN AND IS APPLIED TO ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS SET UP SINCE 1967. THIS PRINCIPLE WAS CONCISELY STATED RECENTLY BY RA'ANAN WEISS (HEAD OF THE JEWISH AGENCY/WORLD ZIONIS ORGANIZATION SETTLEMENT DEPARTMENT): "WHERE AN ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IS ESTABLISHED, IT SHOULD BE A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT THAT SHOULD NOT BE REMOVED UNDER ANY MILITARY OR POLITICAL CHANGE. OUR SETTLEMENTS HAVE ALWAYS ESTABLISHED THE FATS OF THE MAP OF ISREL." CONFIDENTIAL

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IN AN IMPLIED CRITICISM OF ADVOCATES OF WIDESPREAD JEWISH SETTLEMENT THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK, 238 -\$\$3\$: "THEREFORE, BEFORE ESTABLISHING A FACT,IT IS NECESSARY TO HINK CAREFULLY WHETHER IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN THIS FACT EVEN IF POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONDITIONS CHANGE."

2. ALLON PLAN. WEISS FIRMLY ESPOUSES THE "ALLON PLAN," WITHIN WHOSE GUIDELINES THE JA/WZO HAS,WITH THE CONTINUING APPROVAL OF EACH LABOR GOVERNMENT SINCE 1967, ESTABLISHED 76 "FACTS"IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, THE JORDAN VALLEY, THE JERUSALEM AREA, THE LATRUN SALIENT, THE GAZA STRIP,THE RAFAH JUNCTION AREA, AND ALONG THE LITTORALS OF THE SINAI PENINSULA (WEST NEARLY TO EL ARISH AND SOUTH TO SHARM-ASH-SHAYKH).BUT CRITICS OF THE ALLON PLAN, CRITICS WHO HAVE RECENTLY COME TO POWER AND WHO AGREE WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN THAT "THE ALLON PLAN IS DEAD," NOW ARE IN A POSITION TO IMPROVE UPON IT.

3. AFTER THE ELECTION. ON THE DAY AFTER HIS SURPRISING ELECTORAL VICTORY (AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH AN INVITATION

ACCEPTED SOME TIME EARLIER, UNDER ENTIRELY DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES), BEGIN SPOKE AT QADDOUM, A WEST BANK SETTLEMENT SET UP BY GUSH EMUNIM MEMBERS AND STEADFASTLY DENIED OFFICIAL SANCTION BY THE RABIN GOVERNMENT (ALTHOUGH IT DID EXTEND FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT THROUGH SEVERAL MINISTRIES). IN A NOW FAMOUS STATEMENT, BEGIN SAID THAT IN THE COMING MONTHS "THERE WILL BE MANY QADDOUMS," THAT IS, MANY NEW JEWISH SETTLEMENTS "IN SAMARIA," THAT PART OF THE WEST BANK HEAVILY POPULATED BY ARABS AND RESERVED BY LABOR GOVERNMENTS FOR "TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE." TO HIS LISTENERS, BEGIN'S MEANING WAS THAT THE CURTAILMENT OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE JEWISH ANCESTRAL HOMELAND WAS AT AN END AND, JUST AS IMPORTANTLY, THAT GIVING UP PART OF

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ERETZ ISRAEL TO THE ARABS WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION. BEGIN'S QADDOUM REMARKS WERE NOT THE ONLY ENTHUSIASTIC EXPRESSION OF CITROY. IN THE DAYS FOLLOWING THE ELECTION, GUSH EMUNIM LEADER HANAN PORAT SAID: "WE MUST GRAB AND SETTLE. IN THE NEXT SIX MONTHS WE MUST SET UP 20 NEW SETTLEMENTS IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA." AND AN UNIDENTIFIED GUSH EMUNIM SPOKESMAN PREDICATED THAT WITH A LIKUD GOVERNMENT, WEST BANK SETTLEMENT WOULD PROCEED RAPIDLY.

4. LIKUD'S SETTLEMENT PRINCIPLES. THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES REGARDING ISRAELI/JEWISH SETTLEMENT HAVE YET

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TO BE DRAWN UP, BUT ALREADY SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES CAN BE NOTED. ON JUNE 3, WEIZMAN TOLD DAVAR THAT "SETTLEMENT IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA WILL NOT PROCEED ALONG THE LINES OF THE ALLON PLAN, WHICH SPEAKS OF SETTLING AREAS WHERE THERE ARE NO PEOPLE. POPULATED AREAS ARE ACTUALLY IMPORTANT BECAUSE SETTLEMENT IS NOT ONLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF SECURITY. NEVERTHELESS, WE WILL NOT TAKE OVER LANDS TO ESTABLISH JEWISH SETTLEMENTS." DAYAN TOLD YADOT AHARONOT JUNE 10 THAT "THE JEWS MUST BE ABLE TO PROCURE PLOTS OF LAND IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA AND TO ERECT HOUSES AND SETTLEMENTS THERE (UNDER THE GUIDANCE AND PLANNING OF THE GOVERNMENT)." (NOTE: DAYAN'S PARENTHESES.) SHARON, WHO HAS BEEN NAMED TO HEAD THE MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE ON SETTLEMENT, WAS QUOTED IN MAARIV JUNE 19 AS SAYING THAT "WHAT WILL TO A GREAT EXTENT DETERMINE OUR FATE WILL BE TO WHAT EXTENT WE CAN PLAN AND CARRY OUT A CONFIDENTIAL

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LARGE-SCALE SETTLEMENT PROGRAM WHICH WILL INCLUDE NOT ONLY AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS BUT TOWNS AS WELL. A TOWN WITH 50,000 INHABITANTS IS NOT SOMETHING TO BE MOVED." SHARON ALSO SPOKE OF DIVERTING RESOURCES ALLOCATED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISRAEL'S POPULOUS COASTAL PLAIN TO A TERRITORIAL STRIP WHICH HE CALLED "ISRAEL'S LINE OF EXISTENCE" WITHOUT WHICH ISRAEL WOULD FIND IT HARD TO EXIST. THIS STRIP WOULD RUN FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS ALONG THE HILLS OF JUDEA AND SAMARIA AND EXTEND DOWN THE SINAI PENINSULA TO SHARM-ASH-SHAYKH.

5. WEIZMAN SPEAKS OF SETTLEMENT IN ARAB POPULATED AREAS AND OF NO ISRAELI EXPROPRIATION OF ARAB LAND (WHERE THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT HAD AVOIDED THE FORMER AND HAD, WHEN NECESSARY FOR "SECURITY" REASONS PRACTICED THE LATTER. IN ANOTHER CONTEXT, WEIZMAN HAS ALSO WARNED THE ARABS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES THAT CIVIL DISTURBANCES (COMMENT: E.G., PROTESTS

AGAINST NEW SETTLEMENTS) WOULD BE DEALT WITH SEVERELY BY THE NEW GOVERNMENT. DAYAN SPEAKS OF JEWISH RIGHTS IN THE WEST BANK WHICH ARE NO LESS VALID THAN ARAB RIGHTS AND OF GOVERNMENT-APPROVED AND GOVERNMENT-GUIDED JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA (WHERE THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT HAD SPOKEN OF THE REALISTIC NEED TO MAKE TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF LEAVING "THE HEART OF SAMARIA" AVAILABLE FOR THAT PURPOSE). DAYAN'S CAVEAT RE GOVERNMENTAL APPROVAL SHOULD BE READ TWO WAYS: THE NEW GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS THE RIGHTS OF WOULD-BE JEWISH WEST BANK SETTLERS, BUT IT DOES NOT SEE ANY REASON FOR SPONTANEOUS, UNCOORDINATED AND "UNAUTHORIZED" SETTLEMENTS OF THE TYPE THAT GUSH
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EMUNIM USED IN ITS OPPOSITION TO THE RABIN GOVERNMENT. AND SHARON SPEAKS OF A LARGE-SCALE SETTLEMENT PROGRAM ALONG "ISRAEL'S LINE OF EXISTENCE" AND OF SETTLING LARGE NEW TOWNS AS WELL AS SMALLER AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS SHARON'S "SHIFTING OF RESOURCES" MUST BE READ AS A SIGN THAT SETTLEMENT-BUILDING WITHIN PRE-1967 ISRAEL PROBABLY WILL HENCEFORWARD RECEIVE LOWER PRIORITY. IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE IN THIS CONNECTION THAT ISRAEL GALILI (LABOR'S SETTLEMENT COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN) IN A MARCH 1977 KNESSET DEBATE, WHERE HIS PARTY'S SETTLEMENT POLICY WAS UNDER ATTACK, JUSTIFIED LABOR'S SETTLEMENT ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE 1967. "WE HAVE ESTABLISHED 112 NEW SETTLEMENTS, 76 OF THEM BEYOND THE "GREEN LINE." SHARON'S REMARK RE DEVELOPING NEW TOWNS HINTS AT THE LIKELIHOOD OF INCREASED EFFORTS AT PLACES LIKE YAMIT (A "CITY OF THE FUTURE" WEST OF THE GAZA STRIP, ORIGINALLY PROPOSED BY MOSHE DAYAN, WHERE THERE ARE NOW MORE APARTMENTS THAN SETTLERS TO FILL THEM), KIRYAT ARBA (JEWISH SETTLEMENT NEAR HEBRON, WHERE SOME FIVE HUNDRED APARTMENTS NOW STAND VACANT FOR LACK OF INTERESTED SETTLERS), AND AT KATZRIN (A GOLAN HEIGHTS "TOWN" WHERE THE FIRST ONE HUNDRED DWELLING UNITS ARE NEARING COMPLETION.). IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT NEW TOWNS WILL BE SET UP PARTICULARLY ON THE WEST BANK. INDEED, ACCORDING TO A RADIO ISRAEL REPORT JULY 1, THE LIKUD HAS PREPARED A SETTLEMENT PLAN TO BUILD FIVE TOWNS AT THE WEST BANK SITES OF AT-TAIYIBA, MASHAH, BAYT SIRA, MAALE ADUMIM, AND TEQOA.

6. JERICHO--THE NEXT SETTLEMENT? WE HAVE HEARD SEVERAL REPORTS THAT THE GUSH EMUNIM HAVE FORMED A SETTLEMENT NUCLEUS FOR A SITE NEAR JERICHO, AND THAT THIS IS LIKELY TO BE THE FIRST NEW WEST BANK SETTLEMENT APPROVED BY THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT. THE GUSH EMUNIM HAVE MADE

NUMEROUS EARLIER ATTEMPTS TO SQUAT AT JERICHO, BUT
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THEY WERE ALL FOILED BY THE IDF UNDER ORDERS FROM PERES AND RABIN. THE LIKUD'S MOTIVES FOR ZEROING IN ON JERICHO ARE EXPLAINED IN SEVERAL WAYS. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, SUCH A SETTLEMENT WOULD CLOSE THE WEST BANK-JORDAN "CORRIDOR" AT JERICHO WHICH WAS SO STOUTLY GUARDED FOR YEARS BY YIGAL ALLON. IT WOULD ALSO DEFINITELY RULE OUT ANY POSSIBILITY OF AN INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH JORDAN IN THE AREA AROUND JERICHO, AN OPTION THAT RECEIVED SOME DISCUSSION SEVERAL YEARS AGO, ALTHOUGH IT WAS EVENTUALLY DISCARDED. ANOTHER ADVANTAGE IS THAT A JORDAN SETTLEMENT COULD BE PORTRAYED TO WORLD OPINION AS JUST ANOTHER SETTLEMENT ALONG THE JORDAN VALLEY, AND BY IMPLICATION, NOTHING PARTICULAR TO GET EXCITED ABOUT. THIS FEATURE IS ALSO SAID TO BE PARTICULARLY ATTRACTIVE TO YADIN'S DMC PARTY, WHICH INSISTS THAT NEW SETTLEMENTS BE JUSTIFIED ON "SECURITY" GROUNDS, SUCH AS EXIST IN THE JORDAN

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VALLEY. FINALLY, THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO GAIN TIME AMONG ITS SUPPORTERS BEFORE EARNESTLY ADDRESSING THE STICKIER QUESTION OF NUMEROUS SETTLEMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK. IT IS NOT EXPECTED HERE THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL APPROVE ANY NEW SETTLEMENTS BEFORE PRIME MINISTER BEGIN VISITS WASHINGTON, A VIEW SUPPORTED BY A RADIO ISRAEL REPORT JULY 1 THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS POSTPONED SETTLEMENT DISCUSSIONS UNTIL THEN.

7. DMC AND SETTLEMENT POLICY. ANOTHER CONSIDERATION WEIGHING ON FUTURE SETTLEMENT PLANS IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND THE DMC HAVE APPARENTLY STILL NOT IRONED OUT ALL THEIR DIFFERENCES ON THIS POINT, AND UNTIL THEY DO SO ONE WAY OR THE OTHER, FINAL GOVERNMENT POLICY LINES REMAIN TO BE DRAWN. NOW HISTORY IS BEGIN'S
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FLAT REJECTION OF YADIN'S REQUEST FOR A DMC VETO RIGHT OVER PROPOSED SETTLEMENTS, AND IN THE CURRENT STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS, IT IS SAID THAT BEGIN HAS OFFERED A COMPROMISE, WHEREBY THE FINAL WORD ON SETTLEMENTS WOULD REST WITH THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE COMMITTEE, RATHER THAN AS PREVIOUSLY WITH THE MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE ON SETTLEMENTS. THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE IS TO CONSIST OF NINE LIKUD MEMBERS, EIGHT ALIGNMENT, FOUR DMC, THREE NRP, AND ONE AGUDAT ISRAEL. THUS, CONTROVERSIAL SETTLEMENTS, SUCH AS THOSE IN THE "HEART OF SAMARIA" WOULD PROBABLY INVOLVE VERY CLOSE VOTES, ASSUMING AS EXPECTED, THAT THE DMC WOULD BE PERMITTED TO VOTE INDEPENDENTLY ON SETTLEMENTS UPON AGREEING TO JOIN THE GOVERNMENT. IT MAY BE THEN, THAT BEGIN WILL OPEN THE WAY TO LIMITING HIS POLICY OPTIONS ON SETTLEMENTS IN ORDER TO GAIN THE DMC'S KNESSET SUPPORT. YADIN HAS SAID THAT PRESS REPORTS OF LIKUD-DMC NEGOTIATIONS ARE INACCURATE, BUT, AT ANY RATE, IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE DMC'S DECISION ON JOINING THE COALITION WILL BE KNOWN QUITE SOON, PROBABLY BEFORE BEGIN'S VISIT.

8. SETTLEMENT FEDERATIONS. AN ANOMALOUS POINT IS THAT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY, NONE OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT PARTNERS HAVE A GRASS-ROOTS SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATION OF SIGNIFICANCE. THERE ARE ONLY A VERY SMALL NUMBER OF BETAR-SPONSORED SETTLEMENTS (ASSOCIATED WITH THE HERUT PARTY) IN THE OCCUPIED

TERRITORIES, AND EVEN THOSE LINKED WITH THE NRP, WHICH HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY ACTIVE AS A RESULT OF ITS YOUNG GURAD TIES WITH GUSH EMUNIM ARE CONSIDERABLY OUTNUMBERED BY SETTLEMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE LABOR ALIGNMENT
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FACTIONS. (THUS, IT WOULD BE SETTLERS BELONGING TO ALLON'S ACHDUT AVODAH FACTION WHOSE REAL, AS OPPOSED TO IDEOLOGICAL, INTERESTS WOULD BE THREATENED BY TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWAL ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, FOR EXAMPLE. THE SAME HAPPENS TO BE TRUE FOR MAPAI AND NRP, BUT NOT REALLY FOR HERUT, WHICH HAS ONE STRUGGLING SETTLEMENT ON THE GOLAN.) HOW THESE "OPPOSITION" SETTLEMENT FEDERATIONS, WHICH OPERATE IN AN ORGANIZED FASHION ON THE BASIS OF REGIONAL PLANNING, SHARED ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES, AND JOINT MARKETING, WILL RELATE TO THE NEW PRIORITIES OF THE LIKUD GOVERNMENT IS A QUESTION THAT THE NEW LEADERSHIP WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER.

9. GUSH EMUNIM, MANPOWER AND MONEY. GUSH EMUNIM SAYS, AND THERE IS NO REASON TO DOUBT IT, THAT THEY HAVE ENOUGH VOLUNTEERS NOW AVAILABLE TO ESTABLISH TEN NEW SETTLEMENTS WITHIN TWO WEEKS. POWERFUL AS SUCH A POLITICAL DEMONSTRATION MIGHT BE, HOWEVER, GUSH EMUNIM HAS NO REASON TO PUSH THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT TO HASTY ACTION. NOR DO THEY FEEL THE NEED TO MAKE A POLITICAL POINT THROUGH NEW SETTLEMENTS NOW, SINCE WHAT THEY ARE TRULY INTERESTED IN IS PERMANENT (NOT JUST DEMONSTRATIVE) JEWISH SETTLEMENT THROUGHOUT ERETZ ISRAEL AND THEY ARE CONFIDENT OF ACHIEVING THAT GOAL THROUGH COOPERATION, AND NOT CONFRONTATION, WITH THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT. BEYOND THE VOLUNTEERS OF GUSH EMUNIM, HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF ISRAELIS WHO ARE JUST WAITING FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO GO LIVE IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA. WE WOULD EXPECT THAT THE SEVEN TO EIGHT THOUSAND JEWISH SETTLERS NOW LIVING IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WILL BE JOINED BY OTHERS ON A GRADUAL BASIS, RATHER THAN IN A SUDDEN EXPLOSION OF SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY. ANOTHER IMPORTANT FACTOR IS THAT ISRAEL HAS A LIMITED AMOUNT OF CAPITAL WHICH IT CAN DEVOTE TO SETTLEMENT
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PURPOSES, MUCH OF WHICH COMES FROM THE JEWISH AGENCY AND WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION COLLECTIONS. (IT MUST

ALSO BE ASSUMED THAT U.S. ASSISTANCE, TO THE EXTENT THAT IT FREES ISRAELI CAPITAL, INDIRECTLY ENABLES ISRAEL TO PURSUE ITS SETTLEMENT POLICIES.) ALL IN ALL, WE BELIEVE THAT MANPOWER AND MONEY CAN BE CONSIDERED AS CONSTANTS.

10. SETTLEMENTS AND U.S. POLICY. IN A REVIEW OF LABOR'S SETTLEMENT ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES SINCE 1967, LABOR SETTLEMENT CHAIRMAN ISRAEL GALILI TOLD ISRAEL RADIO JUNE 11 THAT "I CANNOT CITE ONE SINGLE CASE OF U.S. PRESSURE REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ONE SPECIFIC SETTLEMENT OR ANOTHER, AND I CANNOT CITE ANY CASE IN WHICH CONSIDERATION OF THE U.S. ATTITUDE HAS TIPPED THE BALANCE VIS-A-VIS ONE SPECIFIC SETTLEMENT OR ANOTHER." OF COURSE, THE U.S. OPPOSITION TO ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES "AS AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS" IS RECOGNIZED BY ALL ISRAELIS, BUT MANY OF THEM SUFFER FROM THE DELUSION THAT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN STATED U.S. POLICY AND ITS ACTUAL POLICY, AND THEY SEE THE MANY ISRAELI "FACTS" AS THE SOLID PROOF OF THEIR VIEW. BEGIN'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON WOULD BE AN APPROPRIATE OCCASION FOR HIM TO LEARN HOW SPECIFIC IS AMERICAN DISAGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL'S POLICY OF "ESTABLISHING FACTS." LEWIS

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